DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 214 300 EA 014 563

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TITLE A Case Study of Teacher Role Enactment in an Urban Elementary School.
PUB DATE Mar 82
NOTE 51p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, March 19-23, 1982).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Behavior Standards; Case Studies; Elementary Education; *Interprofessional Relationship; Organizational Theories; Role Theory; Social Behavior; *Student Teacher Relationship; *Teacher Administrator Relationship; Teacher Behavior; *Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

Using role concepts and organizational theory, this case study examined the role enactments of 26 teachers in a large urban elementary school in the Midwest. Data were gathered through interviews and through observation of teacher interaction with students, colleagues, and administrators. The study concentrated especially on the ways teachers interpreted and responded to the school's organizational characteristics, established a relationship with the principal, and developed stretegies to survive in the organization. After a review of organizational theory and role theory, the paper describes the school setting and discusses the results of the observations and interviews. Three modes of role enactment were identified: (1) "elite" teachers, who negotiated their role in close contact with the principal; (2) "reinforcement" teachers, the guardians of the school's organizational norms; and (3) "fringe" teachers, who were estranged from both the administration and organizational norms. The paper describes how teachers in the different role enactment modes behaved when disciplining students, teaching the curriculum, assigning homework, and promoting students. (RW)

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A Case Study of Teacher Role Enactment in an Urban Elementary School

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, March 1982.

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A Case Study of Teacher Role Enactment in an Urban Elementary School

Organizational behavior has yet to develop as a separate discipline with its own perspective for analyzing organizational phenomena. The disciplines of sociology and psychology address specific aspects or categories of situations, offering explanations with limited applicability. Organizational theory offers concomitant explanations on the structure and processes of organizations, without addressing the roles of workers. The hybrid nature of the field is apparent in a review of the literature. However, this has not prompted the use of integrated or interdisciplinary frameworks in research on organizational behavior.

For example, the limitation of role theory is well documented (Biddle, 1979). With the exception of a few isolated attempts at propositional structure (Foa, 1958; Gross, Mason and McEachern, 1958; Oeser and Harary, 1962; Turner, 1968; Bank et al., 1972), there is little that ties the field together. As Zetterberg (1965) has observed, role research appears to have assembled "a taxonomy struggling to become a theory." At best, role theories present commonsensical notions. They tell us that some behaviors are patterned and are characteristic of persons within context, that roles are associated with sets of persons who share a common identity, and that roles are influenced by persons' awareness of expectations. Further, they tell us that roles are embedded within larger social systems, that they are taught, and that they have consequences.

Role theory tends to ignore processes shaped by the differentiating characteristics of organizations. On the other hand, a review of the literature on organizational theory suggests that this approach to

organizational behavior focuses on structure, technology, task, and environmental relations without being explicit about the roles of workers within the organization. There is a need for an integrated perspective which combines both individual (micro) and organizational (macro) approaches. As Bordua (1968) commented, "role theory without organization theory is a weak reed." The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how research combining the concepts of role with organization theory enhances our understanding of organizational processes.

How teachers interpret organizational reality and develop coping strategies is a problem adaptable to investigation using this integrated framework. At the organizational level, the problem is embodied in recent organizational theories such as negotiated order theory or the theory of street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky, 1976), which states that organizations operate within a context of ambiguous rules and chronically insufficient resources. At the individual level, this problem has been studied extensively in research on role learning (Biddle et al., 1966; Fishburn, 1966; Flanders, 1970).

Organization Theory

In the 1960s, the dominant paradigm for understanding organizational behavior was a closed system, internally oriented, social psychological approach (Bidwell, 1979). For example, the Getzels and Guba (1957) model focused on the problems of integrating the needs of individuals performing roles with the needs of the organization. From its beginnings, organization theory has evolved through various states of conflicting dualities. Views of public education, in particular, have been subject to shifts in conceptualization. Cuban (1979, p.179) observes:

> School systems and schools as organizations are rational and irrational, bureaucratic and unbureaucratic, loosely structured and tightly structured, open to change and closed to change, and vulnerable and invulnerable. These dualities often occur at the same time.

Traditional, rational models of organizational behavior have been juxtaposed with nonrational models such as March and Olsen's (1976) "organized anarchy" and Weick's (1976) "loose coupling" conceptualizations. The former stresses the ambiguity of educational ends and means and the fluid nature of participation by organizational members; the latter emphasizes the tenuous linkages in educational organizations between administrative activity, teaching activity, and organizational outcomes.

Throughout the development of organization theory, researchers have considered both the rational and nonrational elements of human behavior. Early theorists, for example Halpin (1966) and Getzels (1963) took account of both the instrumental/rational and expressive/nonrational aspects of organizational behavior. Some theories focused exclusively on departures from rationality, for example, Merton's (1957) analysis of the impact of bureaucracy on the behavior of individuals in organizations. Although recent theories focus on the voluntaristic, reflexive nature of individual human behavior (e.g., Greenfield, 1979), a persistent thread throughout the development of organization theory has been that it is "the interplay between rational, instrumental, organizing forces and irrational, expressive, anarchic forces that is a key to understanding organizations" (Boyd and Crowson, 1981, p.319; Willower, 1979).

Attempts at a unifying synthesis, or framework, for understanding organizational behavior recently have been found in the policy analysis approach to organization theory. It presents the intersection of or-

ganizational, political, and economic analyses in education, and includes implementation and evaluation studies (e.g., Boyd, 1980; Elmore, 1978; van Geel, 1978; Peterson, 1976). The policy analysis approach, along with the use of multiple models (Allison, 1971), to analyze and explain behavioral phenomena and account for both rational and nonrational aspects of behavior in organizations, reflects the search for a broad, interdisciplinary understanding of organizational behavior. The policy analysis approach to organization theory is concerned with at least two lines of inquiry: the relationship between goal and maintenance activities, and the role of workers within the organization. The approach reflects renewed interest in the distinction between "professed" and "operative" goals, or Merton's (1957) "manifest" and "latent" functions. The crucial issue is what kind of balance organizations and their workers are able to strike between goal and maintenance activities. Perrow (1978) argued that at the core of any realistic theory of organizational behavior should be the fact that workers "use" human service organizations for their own purposes. Apart from their pursuit of professed goals, organizations, most importantly, provide resources or benefits for workers, interest groups, and other organizations. The role of at least some of the workers, within this view, is to exploit the environment for resources, maximize the growth and power of the organization, oversee the delivery of unofficial benefits, and ensure that the organization appears to be meeting professed goals.

An antecedent of the policy analysis approach to organizational behavior is the public choice framework, which is concerned with "the action of individuals when they choose to accomplish purposes collectively rather than individually" (Buchanan and Tullock, 1962, p.13). This

economic approach to nonmarket decision-making recently has been applied to organizational behavior in public schools (e.g., Boyd, 1978; Garms et al., 1978; Michaelson, 1977; Porter, 1975). Because there are no profits in public schools (e.g., teachers' salaries are based on seniority), it can be assumed that public school workers are engaged in activities other than the pursuit of profits. Michaelson (1977, p.329) maintains that "bureaucrats, including schoolmen, seek instead to survive, to enlarge the scope of their activities, to gain prestige, to avoid conflict, to control the organization and content of their daily round as much as possible." In order to gain power, prestige, or salary, the worker must maximize the growth, power, and internal stability of that part of the organization which he or she controls.

Studies of organizational behavior consistently have been concerned more with organizational effects on teachers and administrators than with factors affecting student outcomes, or official goals. It has been proposed that an incentive system confused by the ambiguity of educational means and ends produces a setting which is not oriented toward student outcomes, or official goals (Boyd and Immegart, 1979). Accordingly, the study of organizational behavior has been process-oriented and role-based rather than goal-based (Spady, 1981). Slowly, the traditional, routinized, time-bound, role-based structure of teaching is beginning to change. The movement is away from role-based to goal-based school organization (Spady, 1981). The implications of this approach for the role of teachers has yet to be studied empirically.

Concern with school effectiveness has led to a growing interest in factors such as commitment (Cohen, 1980; Ouchi, 1980), school climate (Rutter et al., 1979), and the role of teachers in determining

the selection, transmission, and evaluation of knowledge within schools (Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Woods, 1979). Teachers with both overt and covert social class biases are thought to influence "what counts for knowledge" in such a way as to disadvantage lower class children and perpetuate the stratification of social classes (e.g., Apple, 1977). This controversial view raises important questions about what structures role behavior and social relationships in schools. Willower (1979, p.36) has commented on the "wide range of formal and normative structures that reduce variation and promote the routinization so characteristic of school life." Recent overlapping approaches to organizational behavior attempt to identify what these structures are and how they work.

One of these approaches has been conceptualized as a bargaining and coalition-building model (Bacharach, 1980). It focuses on the internal politics within school systems which involve extensive formal and informal bargaining in order to get things done. Mitchell et al., 1981, p.184) have focused on the effect of teachers' unions and collective bargaining in "altering substantially the definitions of teachers' work roles and the mix of services which schools provide to children."

Another of these approaches, negotiated order theory, is concerned with how order is established and maintained in organizations through a process of interaction among members who negotiate a number of informal and unofficial rules, agreements, arrangements, and understandings (Day and Day, 1977; Manning, 1977; Strauss, 1978; Hall and Spencer-Hall, 1981). Negotiated order theory calls for a contextual study of behavior, including situated interactions and shared understandings, in order to discover the consequential meanings of acts.

Another of these overlapping approaches is the theory of street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky, 1976) which sees teachers as public employees who deal directly with clients (students) in delivering services, often in a hostile environment, and who operate with a good deal of discretionary power and freedom from direct supervision. Further, these street-level bureaucrats work under conditions of chronically insufficient resources and within a context of ambiguous organizational rules (Prottas, 1978; Weatherley and Lipsky, 1978; Crowson and Porter-Gehrie, 1980). Like negotiated order theory, street-level bureaucracy theory emphasizes norms, contextual factors, and informal understandings of workers in understanding behavior within the organization. Central to these theories is a conceptualization of lower level workers as possessing substantial discretion in terms of the extent to which they will comply with administrative directives. Thus, they emerge as important actors in both the policymaking and the implementation process within the organization.

Throughout these models of organizational behavior, conception of role changes, but it is ever present. Every theory of organization implies statements about the roles of workers within the organization. Some theories hint at definition of the teachers' work role, and others suggest how it is enacted, or carried out. All of these suggestions of role result from theorizing about organizational processes. As researchers recognize the interdependence of organizational processes (Katz and Kahn, 1966; Thompson, 1967), role becomes a major, consequential variable rather than a partial relationship of questionable meaning.

Role Theory

A review of the literature indicates that there is no one grand "role theory." Instead, there is an area of theory including single

hypotheses, sets of logically unrelated hypotheses on the same topic, and sets of logically and topically related hypotheses (Biddle and Thomas, 1966).

The role concept is seen as a set of logically and topically related generalizations which attempt to explain human interaction in an organizational setting. It is a social psychological concept and is contained implicitly in theories of organization. Most theoretical role models focus on the expectations held for the behavior of the focal person (e.g., Katz and Kahn, 1966; Gross, Mason, and McEachern, 1958). Individual differences, and often the impacts of the organization, are included in the basic role episode, which is primarily an interpersonal phenomenon. The focus of role theory is on the interaction between role senders and focal persons. The fact that organizational factors may impact on the interaction is recognized, but the nature of the influence is not specified in current role theories.

Role theories contend that when an individual enters an organization he or she steps into a pre-existing role which is only partially defined. The worker must build a place in the organization by partially creating the role. Members within the same organization and in identical roles will differ in perceptions of their responsibilities, interests, and ways of organizing activities. One person coming into an organization to replace another in that position probably will not carry out the role in the same way. The new appointment may result in a complete change in the way work is performed.

In professional organizations, an individual is thought to work out his role in interaction with others (Schatzman and Bucher, 1964; Rushing, 1964). The role of a professional may depend on his ability

to control working conditions through negotiations and bargaining. Bucher and Stelling (1969) contend that role enactment is a direct consequence of the according of professional status:

> The professional is the person who has a right to say what should be done and what is necessary to get it done. Professionals thus enjoy considerable success in controlling their working conditions; and, characteristically, they attempt to insure the working conditions which they consider necessary to implement their own set of professional values.

As semi-professionals, teachers would appear to have limited ability to control their working conditions. They are expected to accept and work within the conditions set by the organization. These conditions may include ambiguous rules, chronically scarce resources, involuntary clients, and an often hostile environment. Simpson and Simpson (1969) argue that semi-professionals, such as teachers, are not strongly inclined to demand autonomy or resist bureaucratic control. It follows that they would not be inclined to deviate from behavior necessary to achieve organizational goals. However, Woods (1979) found that teachers engage in a surprising range of strategic behaviors just for survival within the organization, and that these coping behaviors are closely linked to role definition.

The Study

Case study data were collected on the nature of role enactment for 26 teachers in an elementary school in a large midwestern city. Specifically, investigation focused on the organizational characteristics of school life and how teachers interpret organizational reality, develop strategies for survival and role definition, and establish a relationship with the administration. A holistic-inductive design of naturalistic inquiry was used, with an observation instrument, focused interview schedule, informal interviews, and analysis of documentary

data. Each teacher was observed on the job for up to six working days--not necessarily sequential--during two school years, 1978-80. Typically, the teachers' work day begins around 8:30 a.m. and continues until 2:30 p.m. During each day's observation, the researcher kept a detailed log of the teachers' activities--the nature of interactions with students, colleagues, and the administration and the nature of behavior centering on four major teacher role requirements: disciplining students, teaching the curriculum, assigning homework, and promoting students to the next grade level. The range of behaviors in interpreting and carrying out these four organizational tasks was recorded and examined.

From these field notes a written log was prepared, representing a written version of the teachers' behavior. The behavior was then coded as to its reinforcement or change characteristics, that is, whether the behavior focused on reinforcing the routines of the school, or on changing, modifying, or altering the routines. Behavior was coded further for its survival potential within the organization and for its range of role definition.

With these analytical characteristics available for each behavior, summations and collations were developed for the disparate features of teachers' role activities. Out of these summaries, it became possible not only to examine a teacher's general work behavior profile, but also to develop a typology of teacher role behavior.

Description of Site

The Beethoven Public School was built in 1873. On May 29, 1962, a new school was built just east of the older one in an exchange with park district land. The two schools operated side by side, serving the inner-city population of a large, midwestern city. The old school consisted of classrooms only, with a total of 54 classrooms in

two buildings. With 35 children in each room, they had capacity for 2,160 students. The new building has a double-sized gymnasium, a library, an auditorium, a clinic, and a park district office. In 1963, there were 2,500 students in attendance. An upper-grade center was built to take the seventh and eighth graders and Beethoven became a school for kindergarten through sixth grade. The school then averaged an enrollment of 2,000 pupils.

In November, 1970, enrollment had dropped to 1,523. Today there are 562 students. The school serves only grades four through eight, and the old building has been torn down. In 1971, there were 67 teachers on the staff; today there are 26 teachers on the staff, including eight regularly assigned classroom teachers, ten full-time basis substitute classroom teachers, one physical education teacher, two special education teachers, one librarian, one reading coordinator, one math coordinator, two special coordinators, not including two assigned cadre substitutes and an assortment of random day-to-day substitutes. With one of the lowest student achievement rates and the highest teacher turnover rate in the school system, the school has an established reputation as "the revolving door school."

Administrator

The principal of Beethoven School is a handsome black woman in her mid-forties. She was assigned in 1974. The assistant principal is a soft-spoken, white, greying, middle-aged man, who had been assigned to the school seven years before. There is nostalgia among the few long-time faculty for the days before the new principal. One teacher who taught at the school for 22 years and was subsequently given an unsatisfactory evaluation rating and transferred to another school upon arrival of the new principal, stated: "We used to

go skiing and bowling together. We used to go out for drinks on Friday nights after work--even he (the assistant principal) came with us. And then when that woman came, it all sort of stopped."

Upon the principal's arrival at Beethoven, annual ratings of teachers dropped from superior and excellent to satisfactory and unsatisfactory. Teachers who had taught at the school for several years were administratively transferred on unsatisfactory ratings. A teacher who taught from 1957 to 1979 and was then transferred on an unsatisfactory rating spoke bitterly of the lack of support from colleagues and the assistant principal during her hearing: "I will never forgive him," (the assistant principal) she said, "we joked and drank together; we watched each others' children growing up; my classroom was right next to his office. He knew I was good, but he wouldn't step forward to say a word in my defense. She's got every one of them afraid of her."

Beethoven School is the principal's first administrative assignment. Previously, she worked as an elementary school teacher who was ambitious to move up the hierarchical ladder to administrative work. The principal describes the school as "a shambles" when she took over principalship, and she is committed to correcting the problems of "the worst school in the system." She has told the faculty repeatedly that "we don't write off children in this school" just because they come from the largest and poorest 1,099-dwelling housing project in the city. This administrator in continually involved in the administrative work of eliminating teachers from her school and she dreams of the day when teachers in the public school system can be hand-picked. She has the distinction of having given more unsatisfactory ratings to teachers than any other administrator in the system.

Teachers

The 26 teachers of Beethoven School share a subdued side by side existence. Conversations are infrequent and hushed. A ranking system was devised to conceptualize the social dynamics and mode of adaptation of teachers in coping with the difficulties and ambiguities of their jobs and the social dynamics of administration-faculty relations. The three main groups identified among the staff have been ranked as the Elite, Reinforcement, and Fringe teachers. The Fringe group consists of two subgroups of Ideal and Disloyal teachers. The mode of adaptation of the group known as the Elite is identified to be negotiation of role. Each of the Elite teachers has painstakingly forged a relationship with the administrator and maintains it through continual contact with her within a recognized role. The Reinforcement teacners have consistently displayed dedication to the norms of organizational life. They are the backbone of Beethoven School and can be counted on to maintain the climate of the environment. The Fringe teachers either have rejected organizational norms because of an idealized vision of what "teaching should be," or have rejected them because they are bothersome. They are committed not to the organization or to students, but to the extrinsic rewards of the job. In either case, estrangement of Fringe teachers from the administrator is recognizable. They endure a pariah status and often short duration of employment.

The Elite

The Elite teachers consist of a core of three and an auxiliary group of four persons. All seven are long-term teachers who appear to have adapted to the organizational requirements of the job and have been rewarded. All except one were at the school preceeding

assignment of the present principal. Each has assumed a specific unique position within the social structure of the school. All have eliminated some of the difficulty and ambiguity of the work role by moving into positions as non-classroom teachers.

The Core Elite consists of three non-classroom teachers, who have been assigned this description because each has worked out a special role for him and herself within the environment. Their unit has become the wedge of the administrator in maintaining and updating information on activities within classrooms. Their negotiated function is reportorial, as they oversee the smooth functioning of hallways and miscellaneous areas, the distribution of resource materials, and the maintenance of the organization. Each has his and her own large room in which is established an extensive resource center.

Members of the Core Triangle are seen to chat among themselves and occasionally share a laugh. They are a powerful and apparently cohesive force, closely linked to the administrator, but their internal interactions are masked often from public view. Their preferred status has been observed to be a source of annoyance to other teachers, particularly Reinforcement Teachers, who comment:

"What do <u>they</u> do all day!"

"Put <u>them</u> in a classroom and they'd fall apart."

"If I had a job like that I'd be on easy street...never want to leave this place."

"They're always flitting around, busying themselves with other people's business. And the Board wonders where all its money's going."

But other comments have supported the role, if not the preferred status, of the Core Elite:

"They work their butts off. I think I'd rather be in the classroom."

"Their job ain't so easy as it looks. I wouldn't want all that paperwork."

The math coordinator is Chinese-American, a middle-aged married woman who has taught in the school system for 16 years. The reading coordinator is a black male who has been at the school for all of his 14 years in the system and has ambitions to become an administrator. Another coordinator is a black middle-aged woman who has been at the school for 12 years and "would not feel at home anywhere else."

The Auxiliary Elite

Flanking the core of Elite teachers are four auxiliary members of the rank, three white women and a black man. Each has negotiated a place in the upper echelon of the social structure of the school on an individual basis with the administrator. Four distinct styles of adaptation can be identified: hero, pet, missionary, and subordinate. Each mode serves a function within the school environment, some which can be documented, others which are speculative.

Hero

Mr. B. has established himself as a heroic figure within the school, in the black community outside the school, and in a prominent political position in the state. He is the school's regularly assigned physical education teacher, but by special agreement he spends almost 50 percent of his time off the job and in the state capitol. Mr. B. is everyman's friend. He finds furniture and apartments for the families of the housing project, raises money from small businesses for holiday gifts for the children, and oversees the local Boy Scout troop. Mr. B.'s litany of humanitarian commitments is impressive. On the faculty of the school, he is one of the few persons who can box ears, twist

arms, crack vertebrae, and whip bottoms--and be thanked in a deluge of gratitude. Said one student:

"Mr. B. can do whatever he wants. He's my boss." And another:

"You steal my paper, nigger, and I'll tell Mr. B. on you. He'll take care of your ass." And yet another, revealing an inaccurate source of awe: "He's rich...wouldn't you say he's got about a million dollars...he can give anybody anything they need."

This claim to fame does not stop with students and community people. Among other faculty members, Mr. B. is known to be a soft touch. Often he will schedule extra gym classes for the students of a particular teacher upon request if she is in need of a preparation period. The assistant principal commented:

> These teachers take advantage of him. They just go and ask for a make-up gym and he's so nice he can't say no. They really take advantage of him.

Mr. B. has been known to say "I'll remember you. You remember me when it comes time to vote." The principal announced at more than one faculty meeting:

> I want to remind you teachers that Mr. B. is not to be approached by anyone individually for make-up gyms or extra prep periods. We all know his reputation of not saying no, so please do not see him personally about these matters. If you feel you have missed a gym period, please see Ms. W. about rescheduling it. All rescheduling is done through her.

As a heroic figure, Mr. B. has established a status among the Elite. The principal recognizes his worth as a figurehead and maintains him in her select corps. In the office on records, he has been mysteriously marked in attendance on days when he was not present. The principal is attuned to Mr. B.'s need to please and be accepted. Following her comment to the faculty at a general meeting, "Even gym should be a subject in which students learn and not just run around...even gym

can be a source of building vocabularies..." Mr. B. adorned the gymnasium with a series of sports-related vocabulary cards. His fear of displeasing the administrator was observed one day when a student ran from the gymnasium into the hall and directly into the principal, who happened to be walking by. "I'm sorry, young man, but that crazy behavior isn't allowed in my school," she told the boy indignantly. When the principal had passed, Mr. B. grabbed the boy by the back of the neck and shook him. "See what you did now," he yelled at the boy, "now she'll be all over me!" The Elite teachers pay a high price for privilege.

Pet

Ms. R. is a young, white divorced teacher of 10 years who has negotiated her role through public demonstrations of respect and devotion to her administrator. Ms. R. is the only faculty member who consistently asks questions at faculty meetings. She is the only person who speaks at meetings, besides the principal and assistant principal, commenting on this and that, making it clear to the administrator that she respects her opinion and wishes in all matters. Ms. R. exhibits deference to the principal frequently in public. Even in private conversations, Ms. R. supports the administrator and tries to counter her reputation as a hard and spiteful woman. She says: "I don't know why people don't like her. She just takes a while getting used to...then it's like everything else." Ms. R. genuinely likes teaching, and she refers to her students as her pets, babies, and darlings. She is known for taking her students on frequent field trips and is assigned the top eighth grade class each year.

Missionary

An old, widowed white woman, Ms. C. drives to school from a far north suburb each morning. Her children are grown and teaching has

become a mission. She is a non-classroom teacher, but is assigned to a room for tutoring students and coordinating other activities. This room is colorful with cartoon cutouts, rich with resource material, and lush with plants. "She likes it this way. You have to learn what she likes," says Ms. C., who seldom speaks above a whisper. She has warm, twinkling eyes and a sympathetic smile, but her face goes blank and she scurries to her room whenever the administrator approaches. When reminded of how it used to be at the school before the arrival of the present principal, Ms. C. goes mute and then replies, "Let's not talk about that. We have to live with what we have." Ms. C. has established a reputation for putting in long hours and completing large volumes of work. Frequently, paperwork from the assistant administrator and the Elite Core will fall to her. She completes it graciously. "You don't get so nervous when you keep working," she has been known to say.

Subordinate

Ms. D. is a white woman in her late thirties married to a black man. There is some tension between Ms. D. and the principal because her class of educable mentally handicapped (EMH) students often is noisier than is acceptable to the principal. Ms. D. is willing to accept students into her classroom whom other teachers want to be rid of. She will accept the poorest of students and most troublesome classes without a murmur or complaint. Ms. D. once taught in the Catholic school system and was considered an outstanding lay teacher. When she switched to the public school system and the present school, the principal gave her a satisfactory rating at the end of her first year.

> I couldn't believe it. I was always considered outstanding. I do everything for the kids. I'm like their mother. And she just tells me I'm satisfactory.
>
> Researcher: What did you do?

> I asked her why I just got a satisfactory rating. I was very upset, and she said 'because you're a satisfactory teacher, period, no more, no less.' I asked her what I had to do to be outstanding and she said she didn't think I could be outstanding, but that I probably could get better. I could take the kids on more field trips and take them to my house on weekends and tutor them. I keep getting another satisfactory rating each year.

Ms. D. defers to the principal on all matters. Often she appears meek and intimidated and is silent usually in the teacher's lounge. During an interview session in the lounge one day, she frequently put her finger to her lips, spoke softly, and pointed to the intercom system near the ceiling. "You never know when they're listening," she said. Ms. D. is the caricature of a subordinate. She has consulted the principal on many matters regarding her students and keeps herself in the administrator's attention. In her infrequent comments, Ms. D. has said, "I can't keep my students quiet no matter how hard I try. I just can't work any harder." And Ms. D. is convincing. She is bedraggled and very hard working. She is desperate for the principal's approval and the principal knows it. Through occasional well-chosen comments at faculty meetings, the administrator has raised Ms. D.'s status to a peripheral seat in the rank of the Elites, while keeping her rating at satisfactory.

Reinforcements

While the Elite are a group of highly independent teachers, each having negotiated his or her own place painstakingly, the Reinforcement teachers are a mildly cohesive group of teachers characterized by dedication to the job and acceptance of organizational norms. These teachers are all young to middle-aged and black. They perform their teaching tasks without adverse comment or criticism, and experience a compatible relationship between organizational norms and their perception of the teacher's role. One commented: "The first year was bad, but after

you learn how to intimidate the kids and manipulate them, it gets okay." Their classrooms have the appearance of equilibrium, with classroom doors often remaining open during the day. Their students are always busy, in their seats, and quiet. The black Reinforcement teachers have not found success through open and public deferment to their administrator, but through maintaining organizational routines to a high degree. They reinforce the climate of the school, the norms, and to a degree, each other. Mild forms of discontent are expressed sporadically to each other in the privacy of the teachers' lounge, but seldom critical comment on the administration.

The Reinforcement teachers perceive the teaching role not so much circumscribed, but defined, by inadequate resources and organizational constraints, such as a legacy of paperwork. They comment:

> The problems in the schools come from downtown. If they could get their act together down there things would get better up here.
>
> They don't know what they're doing in the central office. The whole system would fall apart if it weren't for teachers.
>
> I'm sick of doing all this paperwork. They treat us like secretaries. Let the aides do this.

Within their classrooms, organizational norms dominate. Interactions with students are authoritarian, the environment is teacher-centered, and teaching is skills-oriented. Reinforcement teachers are seen frequently to wield a stick for discipline and shout unabashedly at students in the hallways. Their students walk in straight, quiet lines and are quickly and consistently punished for deviance from this norm. Standing in line waiting to get into the lunchroom, one Reinforcement teacher whacks the backs of students' calves with an inch-diameter, two-foot long wire when they move from the line. "She (referring to the administrator) doesn't like to see us doing this," says the teacher, "but if she gives me these big fellas I got to do something. Those are the facts."

The bargaining agreement struck between Reinforcement teachers and the administrator is one in which the latter will overlook activities and methods of which she does not approve, such as corporal punishment, if she gets results which she desires, such as quiet classrooms. Reinforcement teachers respect and appreciate the administrator's policy of firmness in the school. They support the stand that discipline in the school will be maintained at all costs, or the non-disciplining members of the faculty will not remain at the school. "You can't teach 'em if you can't get 'em to shut up," says one teacher. "You got to <u>make</u> them tow the line, and then spoon in the skills." On occasion, Reinforcement teachers have expressed a desire for firmer discipline policy to be implemented. "I would probably suspend them more often if I could, but it's okay as it is. Now I just take them in the bathroom and use the stick on their big behinds." Black Reinforcement teachers tolerate a minimum of deviance from students. They embody mainstream organizational norms and express an overall general contentment with the professed, but not necessarily operative, goals and means of the public school system. They speak of teaching with a pride reminiscent of intrinsic rewards. As one teacher was observed shouting at her student:

> I don't have to listen to that kind of talk from your mouth. I'm the teacher here. I've made it. You're the one who hasn't made it. I'm educated already. I got my college. I got my certificate. I don't have to try and make it no more. I've reached the top. Now it's your turn. What are you going to do with your life? Throw it away like your mama on men and booze...making babies at 16? Or you gonna make something of yourself? Come now, honey, no more talk like that or I'll take you in that bathroom. You start thinking like a success right now...

Reinforcement teachers pay strict attention to their responsibilities as teachers, not in pleasing the administration necessarily. They want to keep themselves out of trouble, do what is necessary to main-

tain at least a satisfactory rating, and teach their students according to the ways they "know" are best, without interference from anyone. Difficulty in maintaining authoritarian control at all times is viewed as a problem of the declining caliber of student. As one teacher reported to another:

> Kids just ain't what they used to be. I don't know where some of these kids dig up their attitudes. You can't do nothing with some of them. They got no attention span. You work all year to get the skills into them. I think they're just getting dumber.

The Fringe

The Fringe teachers exist as isolated members in the school's social structure. They are estranged from the principal and often from each other, and they include a wide range of teachers, from the incompetent to the nonconformists, from those who exhibit a bare coercion to obedience and an expressed desire not to be teaching to those who step outside of the "teacher role" and ask "What am I doing and how am I doing it?" Fringe teachers who have rejected organizational norms because of an idealized vision of what teaching "should be" have been designated the Ideal group among the Fringe, and those whose teaching philosophy is to "get by" on the job, with little thought to consequences of action, have been designated the Disloyal group among the Fringe. While a regularly assigned teacher can easily have Fringe status, membership usually includes temporarily assigned full-time basis (FTB) substitute teachers and cadre substitutes. This is the group which has given the school its name, "the revolving door school." Cadre substitutes report to the school each morning available for work, which is arbitrary and random. It consists usually of replacing a teacher who is absent that day. Full-time basis (FTB) substitutes serve in the same capacity as regularly assigned teachers; their position is different on paper only. Usually they are certified in other areas, such

as in high school subjects, which precludes permanent assignment in another capacity. While it is possible to remain indefinitely in a single position as an FTB, there is more of a sense of tentativeness about FTBs. They are never considered wholly in faculty membership. This is mirrored in the words of the principal, "we want to thank our regular teachers and those who helped us..." In other schools, there may be no distinction between these categories in the manner in which groups of teachers are viewed and how they perceive themselves to be viewed.

The Fringe teachers remain in employment for varying lengths of time. They stay for a week, a month, half a year, sometimes longer. Typically, Fringe teachers are assigned mid-year and leave of their own accord sometime later. One FTB substitute teacher who arrived two months before the end of the 1980 school year commented: "This place blows my mind. How could an intelligent person stay here? I just came for a couple of months...for the money...I'd go insane if I stayed here."

The group of Fringe teachers includes four men and several women. During the course of the study, teacher turnover involved 22 Fringe teachers. All Fringe teachers were replaced at least once, some many more times. During this period, the Elite teachers remained intact. Four Reinforcement teachers left, one as a voluntary transfer to another school, two on maternity leave, and one on sick leave.

Fringe Teachers

Mr. E. is a young, black, burly physical education teacher, recently graduated from college and assigned to the school as a cadre substitute, a type of teacher who comes every day and fills in for absent teachers. Mr. E.'s primary duty is to fill in for the regular physical education teacher who spends half time working at the state capitol. One day at a faculty meeting, Mr. E. spoke up, apparently

not cognizant or intimidated by the usual tense silence of the meetings:

> These kids are impossible. You can't teach them, at least I can't. I swear, I don't know what to do.

The principal responded: "We don't write children off in this school, Mr. E." Mr. E. attempted to make another comment later at the same meeting, but the principal ignored his raised hand and pretended not to see him. When he spoke out again she talked over him as if he was not present, until he walked out of the room. As usual, nobody spoke. Leaving the meeting, teachers spoke in hushed tones. One Reinforcement teacher whispered, "I know what he's trying to say, but you got to learn not to open your mouth."

Several days later, Mr. E. sat sprawled on a vinyl sofa in the teachers' lounge. A member of the Elite Core came puffing into the room. "Mr. E., we've been looking for you. Would you please come and help us downstairs." She exaggerated the word please into three syllables. She was demanding and curt. "Doing what?" asked Mr. E, equally curt. "You'll see," she replied. He followed her out of the teachers' lounge and was back sitting sprawled on the sofa within minutes. A teacher aide sitting in the lounge asked, "What'd they want you to do?"

> "Hell, I ain't no janitor," he replied. "Move those flower pots! What do they think this is? They love getting me to do stuff like this. They're just trying to irritate me so I'll quit." He sunk back into the sofa, seething.

Mr. E. was also employed part-time by the park district in the gymnasium and natatorium behind the school. He lived in the community and had a comfortable relationship with the students who sometimes spoke of him fondly. "Maybe Mr. E. will take us outside today if we be

nice. He's got the basketball with him. He be real good at it." Mr. E. refused to use physical force to control students. He expected them to supply their own inner controls. When they turned surly or unruly he was sometimes gentle, sometimes annoyed, and played a "waiting game" until they came around. His outspoken manners and seeming criticism of students resulted in the principal asking him to refrain from attending faculty meetings. Less and less was his service in the capacity of what he considered to be a teacher's role. More frequently he was used for heavy labor in the moving of boxes and furniture around the school and for running errands, work which Mr. E. considered intentionally humiliating.

Another Fringe teacher is Mr. A., a young white writer in his late twenties. Mr. A. came to the school for the final two months of the 1980 school year to earn some money. During informal conversation in the teachers' lounge, Mr. A. remarks, exasperated:

> God, I can't wait 'til the day is over, the year is over. I'm not coming back here for sure. She's not so hard to work for (referring to the principal)...she leaves me alone...she knows I'm just going to be here 'til the end of the school year.
>
> Researcher: What's the problem?
>
> It's the kids. I can't get along with them. I was trained for high school, not elementary school...it's so incredibly boring. There is no intellectual stimulation here.

A Reinforcement teacher sitting in the lounge responds to Mr. A.:

> Oh, it's not so bad.
>
> Mr. A.: How long have you been here?
>
> Three years. The first year was bad, but after you learn how to intimidate the kids and manipulate them, it gets okay.

Mr. A. has made frequent note of his separateness from the school environment, of the fact that he is only putting in a two-month stint "for the money." He remarks incredulously, "I would go insane if I had to stay here." He has found the principal to be a cordial admin-

istrator, but the students "beyond teaching." He is amazed that teachers have remained in the environment for such long periods of time and have no designs on escape. The Reinforcement teachers are amused by Mr. A. He in turn does not take his two-month employment lightly, even if it is "just for the money." He plans lessons which he hopes will engage students and keep them involved in classroom activities. "But you call this education," he laments. "I always thought education was supposed to be exciting and stimulating. All these kids care about is how fast they can do ditto sheets. I can't keep them in enough paperwork. It's incredibly boring."

Another Fringe teacher is Ms. N., a white, 35-year-old mother of a six-year old boy. Ms. N. has been teaching for almost nine years, the last two years and four months at the present school. She reports being discouraged and disgusted.

> I don't know what I'm going to do. I can't get their attention long enough to teach anything.
>
> You know, I was at the Minter School for six years and there wasn't one day I dreaded coming to school. Sure, I had problems...chairs out the windows and kids knifing each other...but at least we made progress. It was a Latino school. I could see the kids learning. Here I don't see anything happening.
>
> I plan lessons and I teach and teach and teach and nobody listens. They play and fool around. I'm not getting anywhere with them. I refuse to compromise myself but there doesn't seem to be any other way. The only thing that keeps them quiet is copying work or writing statements...yesterday I had them write 100 times 'My behavior is a reflection of my mother's training.' I almost cried. It worked. It's the only time the room's quiet. When I try to teach them and get them to think, they get restless and fidgety and shout out and walk around and do everything but what they're supposed to. My job is to get them to think. That's what I'm paid for, but you can't do that here. Somebody really did a job on these kids.

In six years of teaching at the Minter School, Ms. N. took few sick days. She had accumulated 129 sick days. But at the present school,

she has begun to take days off from work occasionally. "It's dangerous, though," she says, "because if you take one day you never want to come back again. You really have to force yourself." Ms. N. has a vision of what education "should look like," what should be taking place in the classroom, and she doesn't find it happening in her own room. She complains that her students do not get excited by ideas. "They're conditioned to doing rote work and filling out ditto sheets." When asked "Why do you stay in teaching?" Ms. N. replies:

> It's a challenge for me. Someday I'm going to start at the beginning of the year on the right foot. I'm going to be tough and demanding and it's going to work. My kids don't take me seriously. They know I'm not going to hit them and they get all the mileage they can get out of it. I put up names on the blackboard and we sit after school and they write punishments and I send for parents but nothing works. I hope to find what works. I'm giving it one more year, but I'm going to look this summer (for other work). There has to be something better than this. I expect them to think and learn and be real students and not play at it like they've been conditioned.

There is a gap between what Ms. N. expects of the educational experience and what occurs in reality, a gap experienced by other Fringe teachers of the Ideal group. An incompatibility exists between her expectations of the teaching role, the needs of students, and organizational requirements for the teaching role. Ms. N. does not use the tactics of Reinforcement teachers in maintaining order in the classroom. She "puts names on the board," assigns punishments, and calls mothers, but "nothing works." She has concluded that students "just don't want to learn" and are used to only one reality, that of the "stick."

> They come here and talk and fool around and never pay attention and the only time they respond is if you hit them or threaten them or make them do copy work. All I know is I'm not going to compromise. I plan very nice lessons and I come and teach them and if anybody wants to learn anything, fine, if they don't want to learn...that's fine too.

Several preformed categories and stereotypes regarding the teacher's role make it difficult for Ms. N. to respond flexibly to the school environment. Many examples of this are found in the field notes, such as the following entry:

> The 9:00 o'clock bell rang and students began trickling into Ms. N.'s room. They did not come with energy and enthusiasm this day, but sluggishly, lingering, hesitating before coming into the room. She stood at the door greeting students. Eventually, all but a few trickled into the room. Five girls were still missing.
>
> Ms. N., Ms. N., I know where those girls be. Barbara and Cleotha and Jessie and Katrina and Doris, they be going to the store. You should see all those 'Nihilators they be bringing, said another student.
>
> In a few minutes the teacher aide who collects the daily attendance sheet came into the classroom. Ms. W., Ms. W., those girls be going to the store to buy 'Nihilators, a young man insisted on telling everyone who would listen.
>
> They do, huh? said Ms. W. Well, I'll wait right here for them and we'll see how far they get. Ms. W. waited inside the classroom and the girls came in a few minutes later.
>
> OK, ladies, hands against the wall and let me check those pockets, said Ms. W. The girls protested. I bought these 'Nihilators with my own money, insisted Barbars. You can't take my candy, said Cleotha, I'm gonna tell my mama.
>
> I'm gonna take all these 'Nihilators and I'm gonna eat them all up, and if you ever bring any more to school I'm gonna eat those up too. And you go home and tell your mamas that I ate your 'Nihilators up. Your mamas send you to school on time and you go off and come into school late with pocketful of candy.
>
> One of Ms. W.'s tasks as a teacher aide is to call the homes of tardy and absent students listed on the morning attendance sheets collected from each room. Students who go to the store before coming to school are a special irritation to her and she decided that it is within her domain to confiscate any items they bring from the store--pickles, donuts, candy, cookies, gum. 'Nihilators are the most frequent candy item purchased and brought to school by students. They come packed in cellophane, several small hard square candies to a pack. They come in different flavors but the most common is strawberry.
>
> Ms. N. once remarked how fitting it was that the candy should be called "Annihilators." The students pronounced it 'Nihilators' because they run their words together and

> swallow sounds, she thought. Annihilators, the appropriate candy for a ghetto environment where destruction is the norm, commented Ms. N.
>
> Sometime later a student surreptitiously offered the researcher a package of the same candy. Looking at it closely for the first time, the name of the candy could be read: "Now and Laters."

Ms. N. believes that the teaching role at the present school involves compromise which she is unwilling to make, that of controlling students by strong physical subjection or coercion. Already she uses survival tactics which she considers humiliating and "the beginning of the end," such as punishments, copy work, names on the blackboard for stints after school, and calling parents for conferences. There is a cognitive disparity between her vision of a classroom full of students who are "motivated to learn," quiet, and self-disciplined, the reality encountered in the school in which she works, the expectations of the administrator, and the requirements of the organization for the teaching role in the school under study.

Results of Study

Many of the commonsense notions about roles, particularly concerning function and task analysis, are applicable in an analysis of the data. For example, if it can be shown that various elements of a role contribute to two or more distinct functions, then the role can be partitioned into its functional components. Some behavior of the teachers' role contributes to instruction of students, some to student counseling, some to maintaining the organization, and some to keeping satisfactory relationships with superiors and advancing the profession (Fishburn, 1962). Most empirical research on role behavior concerns role components rather than the range of behaviors which characterize a role. The present study identified a range of behavior and three types of roles within this range.

A work role is a role which is exhibited in common by persons who share membership in a position. But all teachers do not exhibit the same behavior. Elite, Reinforcement, and Fringe are three distinct categories representing teaching roles among 26 elementary school teachers. Elite teachers negotiate their role in close contact with the administration. They play a supportive role and are instrumental in the smooth functioning of the school. Although Elite teachers may have experienced cognitive disparity between their expectation for the teaching role and organizational requirements for the role, in the Elite position they negotiate a comfortable compromise and report minimal role conflict. Reinforcement teachers act as the guardians of organizational norms. They establish their role in response to perceived student needs and maintain it through bargaining with the administrator. This is consistent with Michaelson's (1977) observation that a bargaining process between teachers and their principals results in a generally agreeable arrangement for both. Reinforcement teachers experience few role-related difficulties and a high complementarity between their vision of education, organizational norms, and the professed organizational goal, which is transmission of knowledge. Fringe teachers are estranged from both the administration and organizational norms. They experience a high level of role conflict, frequent role-related difficulties, and low complementarity between their perception of the normative teaching role and the role behavior required for the smooth functioning of the organization.

The function for the organization of all three types of teacher role enactment appears to strike a balance between goal and maintenance activities (Table 1). Elite teachers are instrumental within the school as intermediaries of the administration in ensuring the smooth functioning of daily events. Reinforcement teachers carry out

the professed, or real, goal of the organization. Fringe teachers, with their high conflict and low stability, are very useful to the organization in maintaining itself. They act as anonymous, interchangeable cogs, creating a valuable resource pool from which the organization can draw to fill positions for various reasons, from "enhancing" integration to qualifying for federal monies.

Four major tasks of the teaching role were studied for all 26 teachers: Disciplining students, teaching the curriculum, assigning homework, and promoting students. In the interpretation and performance of these tasks, teachers exhibited a wide range of discretionary behavior. Among Fringe teachers, problems carrying out the tasks were numerous and intense, and teachers developed various strategies for coping with the situation. For all teachers, control was an important part of each task, but for Fringe teachers, control practically became the curriculum. Behavior of Fringe teachers in the performance of tasks exhibited a pervasive survival aim. For example, some Fringe teachers worked at establishing good relations with pupils, thereby reducing inherent conflict, increasing students' sense of obligation, and reducing their interest in causing trouble. They developed control through fraternization, that is, giving up the "teacher role" and identifying with the students, often forming implicit alliances against the structure of the school. When fraternization did not achieve control, they could rely on a strategy of absence or removal, simply removing oneself from the situation, for example, by walking out of the room or not coming to work. Fringe teachers often removed themselves from the task of student discipline by requesting an aide or security guard to take over a child, or even a class. Elite teachers, too, were able to avoid three of the tasks by absence or removal in the form of upward mobility from the position of classroom teacher,

thereby changing the nature of their tasks.

The behavior of Reinforcement teachers in task performance was characterized predominantly by the strategy of ritual and routine. The assignment of homework was as ritualistic as the Pledge during morning assembly, and the routines of following the assigned curriculum, or even of promoting students to the next grade, were well established by Reinforcement teachers. In student promotion, they followed organizational rules generally, but engaged in some negotiation with students if they judged that a borderline promotion decision might be turned to student advantage. Fringe teachers were much more likely to engage in negotiation with students over decisions of promotion.

Among the notable behaviors most characteristic of Reinforcement teachers was the strategy of socialization, in which they taught how to play the "good student" role. This lesson was consistent with the organization's requirement for clients: receptivity, malleability, docility, and conformity. Reinforcement teachers engaged in will-breaking contests and rewards for "proper" behavior, placing great emphasis on how to sit in desks, walk in the halls, speak, raise hands, eat, and use the bathroom. Reinforcement teachers often saw socialization as an anticipatory strategy which would prevent other contingencies from arising. Domination was another behavior used almost exclusively by Reinforcement teachers, expressed in verbal aggression, humiliation, and corporal punishment. Although Reinforcement teachers supported this behavior and felt it to be consistent with organizational requirements, the Ideal group of Fringe teachers sometimes engaged in domination also, but experienced much conflict in the disparity between the behavior and their professed beliefs about students and education.

Reinforcement teachers often were found to engage in another strategy called occupational therapy, the aim of which is to take the edge off boredom or unruliness. It consists of keeping students busy, often with filling in ditto sheets, drawing maps, coloring pictures, doing small jobs such as grading papers, writing punishments for bad behavior, or playing cards for good behavior. Many tasks, for example, assigning homework, were performed with use of the strategy of occupational therapy. Reinforcement teachers expressed the belief that the students did not need homework every night, but the organization issued policy dictating the exact number of minutes of homework required nightly for each student. Thus, sometimes teachers filled in students' homework time with nonacademic busywork. The Disloyal group of Fringe teachers consistently engaged in occupational therapy in coping with students (Table 2).

The Organization

In this study, the school is conceptualized as a street-level bureaucracy, in which "workers interact with and have wide discretion over the dispensation of benefits or the allocation of public sanctions" (Lipsky, 1980, p.11). The theory argues that the decisions of street-level bureaucrats--the individuals who directly serve clients--and the routines they establish and devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures effectively become the policies they carry out. Teachers, in effect, become policymakers. The problem in street-level bureaucracies, according to Lipsky, is that the workers attempt to do a good job in some way, but the job is impossible to do in ideal terms. There are inadequate resources, few controls, indeterminate objectives, and discouraging circumstances. All of these organizational constraints were found to obtain in this study.

To understand the organization as a street-level bureaucracy

"one must study the routines and subjective responses street-level bureaucrats develop in order to cope with the difficulties and ambiguities of their jobs" (Lipsky, 1980, p.82). Routines and simplifications--ways of structuring the environment to limit complexity and make tasks and perceptions more familiar--serve one or more of four purposes in processing clients: 1) They ration services; 2) control clients and reduce the consequences of uncertainty; 3) husband worker resources; and 4) manage the consequences of routine practice. Job routines serve to limit students' demands on the system.

The general responses of teachers in dealing with the indeterminancy of the job include developing patterns of practice which tend to limit demand, maximize the utilization of available resources, and obtain client compliance over and above the procedures developed by the organization, but these coping patterns are expressed differently. Within this conceptualization, it is not assumed that all teachers carry out these responses in the same way. For example, Reinforcement teachers use rigid classroom control and corporal punishment to obtain student compliance with school rules. Elite teachers were found to tolerate a lower level of compliance from students, and Fringe teachers were found to fall at both extremes, either demanding maximum student compliance even beyond that expected by the organization, or expecting very little compliance from students because "they don't know enough to behave," and "it's my job to teach, not to police."

Street-level bureaucrats also modify their conceptions of the job in order to restrict their objectives and reduce the gap between available resources and the achievement of objectives, and their concept of students in order to make more acceptable the gap between accomplishments and objectives. Reinforcement teachers appeared to

have undergone the least modification of job concept. They consistently reported a high level of consonance between organizational goals and norms and their personal teaching goals. Fringe teachers experienced a notable disparity between personal conceptions of the job and objectives and the achievement of those objectives. Fringe teachers, and even some Reinforcement and Elite teachers, coped with the gap between accomplishments and objectives by concluding that students "can't learn," "don't want to learn," or "are getting dumber."

An example of a practice which limits demand on teachers is the informal classification of students by attributed learning ability. This also effectively determines school stratification policies. Responding to children as a class rather than as individuals is another technique. Ideally, individual needs of students should be met according to professed organizational goals; in practice, teachers must deal with students on a mass basis because of work requirements. Some Fringe teachers experienced greatest role conflict in this area. Teachers also may privately abandon their aspirations to teach children, even while going through the motions. Some Fringe teachers of the Disloyal group engaged in this practice, appearing to go through the motions of teaching while actually doing something else. Teachers may succumb to a private assessment of the status quo in education. Large classes, inadequate resources, uncertainties of method, and the unpredictability of clients may drive a wedge between teachers' ideal conception of the job and the actual nature of the work. Wanting organizational life to be more consistent with their own preferences and commitments, teachers must readjust one or the other. Among Fringe teachers, in particular, the latter gives way to prevailing structural constraints.

Client, or student, processing is still another function of street-

level bureaucracies. Ideally, teachers are expected to exercise discretion in response to students, but in practice they must process students in terms of routines, stereotypes and other mechanisms, which facilitate tasks. They must rationalize the discrepancy between service ideals and service provision, and develop conceptions of the job and of clients which reduce the strain between capabilities and goals, making the job psychologically easier to manage. They modify their objectives to better match ability to perform, and they mentally discount their students in order to reduce the tension which comes from the inability to deal with them according to service ideals. Psychological developments function to help teachers maintain a distance from their failure or inability to realize the goals of personal gratification and task realization. Withdrawal, quitting, redefinition of the job are techniques. A common one is seeing limitation in the workplace as a fixed reality rather than as a problem with which to grapple. This discourages innovation and encourages mediocrity, and was a prevalent characteristic of the school in the present study.

In the present study, all groups of teachers developed routines and simplifications, and all but the Ideal group of Fringe teachers developed behavior for controlling students. Elite teachers, as resource coordinators rather than classroom teachers, provide a wide range of materials and equipment to any teacher who requests it. Reinforcement and Fringe teachers of the Ideal group control and limit the distribution of these resources to students, but Fringe teachers of the Disloyal group gave little attention to who gets what. Modifications of the concepts of job, students, and objectives were not necessary for Reinforcement teachers who experienced little discrepancy between the realities of the job and their own teaching ideals, or for Elite teachers, who had reached a level of comfort and immunity

from these issues as non-classroom teachers. Fringe teachers of the Ideal group experienced greatest difficulty in this area, with much disparity between their idealized vision of teaching and organizational reality. To varying extents, all teachers rationalized the gap between service ideal and service provision, with Reinforcement teachers needing to do so very little but tending to attribute any discrepancy to the "lower caliber of student these days," and Fringe teachers of the Ideal group attributing the gap to insufficiencies in the organization which could be changed, they believed. Fringe teachers of the Disloyal group were oriented primarily to the extrinsic benefits of the job and not concerned with a service ideal (Table 3).

Discussion

Role theory is insufficient as a theoretical framework when there are perspectives which have more explanatory and predictive power. It is important for the analysis of a micro process such as role enactment to include an examination of how it fits into and is shaped by the dynamics of the larger macro context of the organization. Although it is not a prevailing paradigm, research in organizational behavior which uses both macro (organization) and micro (individual) approaches has begun to emerge (James and Jones, 1976; Rousseau, 1977; Whetten, 1978). Most importantly, linking role theory, which has limited scope and range of applicability, to an organizational framework can change the way problems are viewed and stated.

In the present study, roles carried out by 26 teachers in a large, urban elementary school were examined within a conceptualization of the organization as a street-level bureaucracy. Teachers' interpretations and responses to the organizational characteristics of the school and the implications of these responses for role definition

were examined. In addition, how teachers establish a relationship with the administration and develop strategies for survival within the organization were analyzed. This was accomplished by focusing on the nature of interactions with students, colleagues, and the administration, and the nature of behavior centering on four major teacher role requirements: Disciplining students, teaching the curriculum, assigning homework, and promoting students. The range of behavior in carrying out these tasks of the teaching role was developed into a typology of three distinct modes of role enactment: Elite, Reinforcement, and Fringe teachers.

While street-level bureaucracy theory emphasizes norms, contextual factors, and informal understandings of workers in understanding behavior within school organizations, most theoretical role models focus on the expectations held for the behavior of the focal person. They focus primarily on interpersonal phenomena. In this study, administrative expectations were very important, for teachers of all groups were found to develop many behaviors in response to the administrator. More important to the ways in which teachers acted out their roles, however, was the level of fit between teachers' personal vision of the teaching and learning experience and organizational norms. In this study, the closest fit between organizational norms and vision of the normative teaching role was found among Reinforcement teachers, all of whom were black. One might hypothesize from this finding that there is a functional match between the orientation of black elementary school teachers and the culture and norms of the school under study. The applicability of the concept of functional match could be explored through further empirical investigation. Implications of

such speculation for school systems suggest the need for a reassessment of teacher employment and assignment policies.

However, the study also suggests that school systems, as street-level bureaucracies, require for their continuance and maintenance not only teachers whose behaviores are consistent with organizational norms and the professed organizational goal of transmission of knowledge, but also teachers who create a resource pool of anonymous, interchangeable cogs. Although these teachers' behaviors often are not consistent with organizational norms or the professed goal of the organization, their functional role becomes one of fulfilling the operative goals of the organization, such as maintenance. Implications for this is that while the organization survives, students are left behind.

All three groups of teachers recognize the distinguishing characteristics of the bureaucratic school organization in the form of rules, routines, hierarchy, etc. However, the three types respond to this structure and are used by the organization in different ways. Woods (1979, p.140) recognized a division among teachers which he labeled "teacher-bureaucrats," those whose teacher-styles are governed by the school's rational and bureaucratic processes, and "teacher-persons," those whose images are governed by more humane considerations. Although there is much overlapping of behavior between groups, Reinforcement teachers best fit the teacher-bureaucrat model. Some of the behaviors of some of the Fringe teachers were consistent with the teacher-person role model. One might argue that it is the interference of humane considerations, in a role which requires more bureaucratic behavior, which creates conflict for many teachers.

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TEACHER ROLE	MODE OF ADAPTATION	ORIENTATION	FIT WITH ORGANIZATION	ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTION
Elite	Negotiation (maintain elite position by providing supportive services to administrator)	Orientation to Administration (attention is primarily on relationship with administration)	Complementarity Low Conflict (comfortable adjustment between personal teaching ideology and functional role in organization)	Maintenance Activities/ Transmission of Knowledge (fulfill both operative and professed goals of organization)
Reinforcement	Dedication (establish position by consistent dedication to students and organization)	Orientation to Students (attention is primarily on striking balance between needs of students and requirements of organization)	High Complementarity/Low Conflict (personal teaching ideology consistent with cultural and organizational norms)	Professed Goal Activities (transmission of knowledge)
Fringe Ideal Group Disloyal Group	Estrangement (position of disfavor with administration)	Orientation to Self (attention is primarily on the experience of dissonance between personal ideology and organizational norms)	Low Complementarity/High Conflict (significant mismatch between personal teaching ideology and organizational and cultural norms)	Maintenance Activities (fulfill operative goal of organization by providing interchangeable personnel)

TABLE 1. Typology of Teacher Role Positions in Relation to the Organization.

	DISCIPLINING STUDENTS	TEACHING THE CURRICULUM	ASSIGNING HOMEWORK	PROMOTING STUDENTS
Teacher Role		Behavioral Strategy		
Elite	Negotiation Domination	Absence and removal	Absence and removal	Absence and removal
Reinforcement	Socialization Domination Occupational therapy	Ritual and routine Occupational therapy	Ritual and routine Occupational therapy	Negotiation Ritual and routine
Fringe	Fraternization Absence and removal Domination Occupational therapy	Negotiation	Fraternization Negotiation	Negotiation

TABLE 2. Behavioral Strategies in Response to Four Teacher Tasks.

	TEACHER ROLES			
	Elite	Reinforcement	Fringe	
Street-Level Behaviors			(Ideal)	(Disloyal)
Develop routines and simplifications	X	X	X	X
Control students	X	X		X
Husband resources		X	X	
Ration services		X	X	
Modify concept of job	X		X	
Modify concept of students	X			X
Modify objectives			X	X
Rationalize gap between service ideal and service provision	X	X	X	
See work limitations as fixed reality	X	X	X	

TABLE 3. Patterns of Behavior of Teaching Roles in a School seen as a Street-Level Bureaucracy.